

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION NATO
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECDEF, USCINCEUR, USNMR SHAPE, US-
LOSACLANT

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, MPOL, GW
SUBJECT: NATO CONSULTATOONS: FRG VIEWS

REF: USNATO 1111, DTG 021105Z MAR 77

SUMMARY: FRG PERMREP PAULS HAS CITED EXAMPLES OF
KEY ISSUES ON WHICH NATO CONSULTATIONS ARE REQUIRED HE SAYS, IF
THE US IS TO AVOID "IRRITATION" IN FRG, AND PRESUMABLY AMONG
OTHER ALLIES. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING CALL ON AMBASSADOR MARCH 2, FRG PERMREP PAULS
REITERATED THE EMPHATIC STATEMENT HE MADE DURING PERMREP'S
LUNCH, MARCH 1 (PARA 1, REFTEL) ON THE NEED FOR "TURE
CONSULTATIONS" BY THE US AT NATO PRIOR TO THE RESUMPTION OF
US-USSR SALT NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER CHARACTERIZING SUCH
PRIOR CONSULTATIONS AS BEING OF "ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE" TO
ALLIED COHESION--AND ALSO SUGGESTING THAT CONSULTATIONS
WOULD STRENGTHEN THE US HAND IN NEGOTIATIONS-- PAULS ALLUDED
TO THE FACT THAT FRG LEADERS WERE "IRRITATED" BY A NUMBER OF RECENT
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DEVELOPMENTS IN WASHINGTON.

2. AMBASSADOR ASKED PAULS IF HE WOULD CARE TO BE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT
ALLEGED IRRITATION IN BONN. PAULS REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT SO MUCH A
MATTER OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS THE US HAS OR HAS NOT TAKEN; RATHER, IT
IS THE PERCEPTION OF DECISIONS IN THE MAKING ON MATTERS OF VITAL
IMPORTANCE TO THE FRG AND OTHR ALLIES, BUT WITHOUT ALLIES
KNOWING WHICH DECISIONS ARE, IN FACT, BEING MADE AND UNDER
WHAT RATIONALE. PAULS THEN PROCEEDED TO TICK OFF SOME
PARTICULARS:

-- DOES THE US INTEND TO INCLUDE THE SS-X-20 IN SALT II?
HOW CONCERNED IS THE US THAT THIS SYSTEM COULD BE QUICKLY
CONVERTED, BY THE ADDITION OF A THIRD STAGE, TO GIVE IT AN
INTERCONTINENTAL CAPABILITY?

--WHAT ARE THE US INTENTIONS AND RATIONALE WITH
RESPECT TO LAND-BASED CRUISE MISSILES? THE FRG VIEWS
THIS CATEGORY OF WEAPONS AS POTENTIALLY VERY IMPORTANT IN
CENTRAL REGION DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE.

--WHAT IS THE US VIEW OF THE INTERFACE BETWEEN SALT
II AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS? THE FRG RECOGNIZES THAT
THESE ARE SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS, PAULS OBSERVED,
BUT ALSO VIEWS THEM AS INHERENTLY INTERRELATED.

-- DOES THE US INTEND ANY CHANGES IN THEATER NUCLEAR
FORCES (TNF) BEYOND THOSE ALREADY UNDER ALLIED
EXAMINATION? THE FRG, AS IS WELL KNOWN, ATTACHES
GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE TNF LEG OF THE NATO TREATY

--VIEWING IT AS PROVIDING ESSENTIAL CREDIBILITY TO
THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE OTHER TWO LEGS.

3. CONTINUING IN THE SAME VEIN, BUT NOTING THAT HE
WAS NOW SPEAKING PERSONALLY, PAULS OBSERVED THAT
THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEW US ATTITUDE TOWARD SPEAKING
ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR
CONSULTATION ON THIS SUBJECT. HE UNDERSTANDS PRESIDENT
CARTER'S PERSONAL VALUES, PAULS SAID, AND SHARES THEM.

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BUT AT SOME POINT THE SOVIET REACTION TO WESTERN
INSISTENCE ON THE GUARANTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL
BECOME SO NEGATIVE THAT NOT ONLY THE RIGHTS IN QUESTION
BUT THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF THOSE TO WHOM THEY APPLY
WILL BE PLACED IN JEOPARDY. THUS, WHILE WE CONTINUE
TO REGARD HUMAN RIGHTS IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLE, WE SHOULD
ALSO EXAMINE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON THE SOVIETS OF
VARIOUS APPROACHES WE MIGHT TAKE TOWARD THE REALIZATION
OF THESE RIGHTS.

4. THE AMBASSADOR REMINDS PAULS OF THE DEEP AND LONG-
STANDING AMERICAN CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, PORTRAYING
IT AS AN ETHICAL CONSTANT IN THE AMERICAN CHARACTER,
AND OBSERVED THAT HIS UNDERSTANDING OF WASHINGTON'S
APPROACH WAS THAT WE WOULD SPEAK OUT IN BEHALF OF
SUCH RIGHTS-FIRMLY, BUT UNPROVOCATIVELY--WHILE
NOT ALLOWING OUR STATEMENTS TO INTERFERE WITH OTHER
ASPECTS OF DIPLOMACY. PAULS CONCLUDED BY OBSERVING
THAT THIS IS A PRINCIPLED APPROACH. THE DIFFICULTY
IN IT, IN HIS VIEW, IS THAT THE SOVIETS TREAT DIPLOMACY
ONLY IN TERMS OF PRAGMATIC FACTS, NOT AS PART
PRINCIPLE AND PART PRAGMATISM. HENCE, HE STILL
BELIEVES THAT, OVERPLAYED, THIS THEME COULD PRODUCE
SOVIET REACTIONS THAT WOULD THREATEN THE VERY PEOPLE

IT WAS INTENDED TO HELP PROTECT.STRAUSZ-HUPE

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